621 with some of their co-residents; nevertheless, common residence
614 implies some community of interest and a degree of group solidarity that is reinforced by Administration and mission policies which recognise villages rather than descent groups as functional
[431] entities.[1] Marriages between members of the different clan
[476] branches within the village reinforce this solidarity, which is expressed in such ways as daily food gifts, co-operation in certain tasks, and joint ceremonial activities.

(b) Social organisation[2]

614 (i) Descent. Every Orokaiva is recruited by birth into the clan of his or her father. All members of a clan claim, but cannot
[611] necessarily trace, common descent from a usually eponymous ancestor.
[613] Each clan is subdivided into named sub-groups or lineages which trace their origin to a named ancestor.[3] A lineage comprises, on average, three households. Usually several clans are represented in a single village, members of a single clan (clan branches) being scattered among a number of neighbouring villages. Lineages are much more localised in character, frequently being confined to a single village and tending to occupy one section of it.

[622] (ii) Leadership. The Orokaiva social system incorporates no central authority or hereditary leadership. Instead, it is
[554] characterised by 'big men' (embo dombo) and an ascendency of elders who have proved themselves equal to the task. Such men command the respect of the community - based upon observed qualities of generosity, diligence, wealth, ability to make wise decisions and skill in arranging ceremonial activities - but it confers no sanctions.

571 (iii) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal, but in practice people have a wide choice between the village of patrilateral or matrilateral kin or of affines, and it may be
[592] changed at any time. The composition of individual households
[594] within the village likewise varies, although the basis is generally the nuclear family. The distribution of clan branches through a
[614] number of villages is closely related to access to the group's land; hence initial motivation for a long-term change in residence
[166]

---

[1] Cf. comments by Belshaw (1964:277) on villages and descent groups vis-à-vis government policy in Fiji.

[2] For a fuller account see Rimoldi 1966:29-75.

[3] Genealogical depth is slight, descent rarely being traced to an ancestor more remote than the grandfathers of the oldest men.

592 The average size of households[1] is 4.5 persons, otherwise expressed as 2.4 labour units.[2] Of the fifteen households in the sample at the beginning of the survey, only four had individual [249] holdings of cash crops and one man started a holding during the survey (coffee in all cases). Everybody had rights of access to a communal rubber plantation which was tapped by individuals on a rota system.

464 Most household heads have worked for wages as unskilled or semi-skilled labour (plantation workers, rubber tappers, domestic servants and labourers for the Australasian Petroleum Company). 871 The highest level of education reached by any householder was standard II.[3] Standard IV is the highest level attained within the sample (including children), although one absentee completed standard VI at a government school at Kokoda.

622 Although the sample includes the local government councillor for Sivepe and the adjoining villages of Binduta and Awala, he only recently arrived in the village and exerts limited authority.[4] [241] The village as a whole possesses no universally accepted spokesman or leader[5] and the repeated failure of communal ventures[6] may be related to this fact.

Economic holdings

433 Within the subsistence sector, a key factor in the pattern of exchanges is the fluctuating resources of particular foodstuffs in production at a given time in a given household: when an individual has no producing taro he is dependent on others, when he has excess he distributes. Significantly, at the time of the survey of

---

[1] For the purposes of this survey, a household is a group of people [594] gardening, cooking, eating and budgeting together. It is basically the nuclear family, perhaps including unmarried kin or widowed or divorced parents (although these may operate as independent households). The household invariably resides under a single roof. Cases of two households living together occur and their frequency in Inonda helps explain the larger mean size of house.

[128] [2] Labour units were calculated on the following basis:

Age	5-9 years	10-14	15-19	20-44	45+
Male	0.1	0.3	0.8	1.0	0.8
Female	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.6

[3] See Appendix 1.4 [4] See Rimoldi 1966:55-6.

[554] [5] One man, adopted into Timumu clan, is asserting himself increasingly through his generosity, organising ability and industriousness.

[6] See pp.44-5 and Rimoldi 1966:84, 107-8.

A. [See Category 871, p. 307--Analyst]

621 also reported that there is one plant emblem which all Inonda members
614 of the Andiriha clan have in common, a feature not found in Sivepe.

In discussing household composition patterns, I shall simplify the picture somewhat, as for the purpose of this study it is irrelevant
592 whether children are natural or adopted, legitimate or not, children of both parents or one and whether clan membership is "primary" or "permissive." All these questions would be highly relevant, of course, if we were dealing with a village such as Hohorita, where many people died during the eruption so that many remarriages and adoptions can
[114] be traced to that cause. One of the strange gaps in Williams' ethnography is that he omits any reference as to household composition; in his notebooks, he records household composition for two villages, Burugata and Wasida, showing that in every case in those villages, a household was made up by a husband, wife and children. In one case of a polygamous family, the man had two houses, one for the family of one of his wives and one for the families of the other two.

Informants told me of one rule regarding household composition
592 which is likely to be quite ancient. This is that a man and his wife
606 may not quarrel in the presence of the husband's father (and, needless to say, in the presence of the wife's father). For this reason, the people of Sivepe certainly do not like three-generation households when the middle generation is represented by a married couple. It is normal for a married woman to stay with her parents or her husband's parents while her own husband is away working for wages--as is frequent among younger couples. In that case, the household will have three generations, but the middle generation is represented by a woman only, with the husband only an infrequent guest. When I came to Sivepe, and the village was still only half-built, I found three households in which the middle generation was represented by a husband and wife plus, sometimes, a few others. In all these three cases, a change had occurred before I left: the husband and wife had built themselves one house, leaving another for the old people and perhaps some other adults, not including couples. This rule seems to be regarded as less important in Inonda. (See Table 15.)A

My own impression is that the normal household is composed of
592 a nuclear family, as appears from the Sivepe (but not the Inonda)
[594] statistics. Widowers and sometimes also widows live in houses by themselves, even if they have no young children living with them and
[589] do not like staying with their children after they are married. A widower usually has his meals cooked for him by a daughter or other close relative who brings the food to this house. Though occasionally, two married brothers (or other close relatives) live in the same house, this is likely to be a temporary arrangement. I do not think that useful sociological conclusions can be drawn from comparison between Inonda and Sivepe in respect of household compositions, as there are in Inonda only two households of the type I have shown to be highly untypical and these may well be accounted for by idiosyncratic circumstances.

A [See Cat. 116, p. 220--Analyst]

22: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1969 OJ23 Oroksiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

TABLE 15

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION; SIVEPE AND INONDA COMPARED

592
594
596

Note: The term "augmented," applied to a household, denotes that the household includes adults outside the nuclear (or extended) family, but that these adults are living without a spouse.

Household Type	Inonda	Sivepe
1 Generation	1	3
Nuclear	2	12
Augmented Nuclear	-	2
Double Nuclear	2	-
Simple 3-Generation	1	4
Augmented 3-Generation	1	3
TOTAL	7	24